

E. A. BERGMAN



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Last week's policy statement

## UNILATERAL ACTION REJECTED

THE joint Labour Party-Trades Union Congress statement on armaments adopted last week ended a complex series of policy meetings which dominated the news in Britain throughout mid-June.

The most important aspects of the plan, which became official policy on June 24, were the attempt to form a non-nuclear club of all countries except Russia and the United States, and the emphatic repudiation once against of unilateral nuclear disarmament.

The policy is enunciated in a document entitled "Disarmament and Nuclear War: The Next Step."

Arguing the case against unilateral nuclear disarmament, the joint declaration of policy says that "there is not the slightest evidence" that such a policy would influence other Governments.

### OUT OF NATO

"Moreover," the declaration continues, "if the abandonment of the manufacture of nuclear weapons by Britain were accompanied in some form by a ban on all

# THE END OF THE LABOUR PARTY

### AN EDITORIAL

MR. GAITSKELL AND MR. BEVAN ARE SATISFIED WITH THE WAY THEIR NEW POLICY ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS HAS BEEN RECEIVED BY THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS. THEY OBVIOUSLY FEEL THAT THEY WILL NOT BE DEFEATED AT THE NEXT LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE.

Nobody else can be anything but nauseated by the Labour Party leadership's change. It is not so much that the actual statement is unsatisfactory; it, at least, has the merit of stating

honestly the party's basic commitment to the H-bomb and to multilateral agreed disarmament. It is the sudden conversion that must make people even more cynical about the Labour Party.

The political correspondent of *The Observer* documented last Sunday the speed of the change. There can be few examples of political parties making a change on such an important issue in a few weeks.

But there is another reason for cynicism. When he referred to the idea of a "non-nuclear club" at the Scarborough Conference last year Mr. Gaitskell said that if the Labour Party knew for certain that only Britain's continuing to manufacture these weapons stopped the agreement which would finally freeze the distribution of nuclear weapons to these two powers, he knew that he and his colleagues would regard it as a powerful argument.



Nobody has yet bothered to say why Labour has now become certain.

Apart from the vote of the Municipal and General Workers Union there has been no change in the nuclear weapons

armament is therefore very unpromising. Any hope of a British Government that would renounce nuclear weapons must depend on what happens in the Labour Party. The Labour Party obviously could not adopt such a policy while Gaitskell and Bevan and the people who have supported them are in control. But to get rid of them would so divide the Party that it would have very little chance of being elected to power. And if the split came after a Labour Government had been elected, it is unlikely that there would be a majority of nuclear disarms in Parliament.



Must we then despair of getting nuclear disarmament? We do not think so. The campaign against the Bomb must concentrate on getting a firmer base for its activities. It can do this in two ways.

1. By developing an alternative policy in a much more coherent way than it has done. This involves (as the Labour Party policy statement argues) recognising that the next step after giving up the Bomb is getting out of NATO.

2. By strengthening the commitment of those who already support the campaign. People must be prepared not to pay the



and the emphatic repudiation once against of unilateral nuclear disarmament.

The policy is enunciated in a document entitled "Disarmament and Nuclear War: The Next Step."

Arguing the case against unilateral nuclear disarmament, the joint declaration of policy says that "there is not the slightest evidence" that such a policy would influence other Governments.

## OUT OF NATO

"Moreover," the declaration continues, "if the abandonment of the manufacture of nuclear weapons by Britain were accompanied, as is often urged, by a ban on all foreign nuclear bases in Britain, this would be tantamount to a British withdrawal from NATO. Nothing could be more dangerous. . . ."

In present conditions we regard it as essential that the NATO alliance should be maintained and that we should remain local and active members of it, providing our full contribution to its forces and accepting also our share of the risks involved."

At his Press conference, Mr. Gaitskell, according to the *News Chronicle*, said that he expected Labour would always have a pacifist minority.

If the proposed non-nuclear club were formed with other nations, the policy document says that a Labour Government would not only cease to manufacture nuclear weapons but would also "deprive herself of their possession." Asked if that could mean giving the bombs to the United States, Mr. Gaitskell said that it certainly could.

In the document nothing is said which will reassure those who pointed out in the previous month that the idea of a negotiated non-nuclear club is hypocritical because it is known to be unacceptable to leading non-nuclear Powers.

"In launching such an endeavour," the document continues, "we shall in no way be weakening in our support for the NATO alliance or in our readiness to accept American bases in Britain subject to the veto which already exists concerning their possible use."

## 20 BOMB OWNERS

"According to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences," the declaration states, "twelve countries now have the economic and technical ability to make nuclear weapons, and a further eight



Frank Cousins.

nations could achieve a nuclear weapons programme within the next five years."

On nuclear tests the policy document states that if other countries were to break the present truce "a Labour Government would continue to observe it and would immediately initiate fresh negotiations for an international ban on all tests."

Asked if there were any circumstances in which a Labour Government would resume tests, Mr. Gaitskell declined to give a straight answer.

He said the question involved a double hypothesis—that another Government broke the truce and that the international conference called by the Labour Government failed. It was, said the Party leader, "a bit unreasonable" to anticipate such a remote hypothesis.

## UNIONS DEBATE

The document will be put before the Labour Party Conference at the beginning of October, but if a General Election is announced before then it will be incorporated in some kind of manifesto. It will also be discussed at the TUC in September.

Next week three major Unions will hold their conferences, at all of which nuclear weapons policy will be discussed. These Unions are the Miners, the Railwaymen and the Transport and General Workers' Union.

It is widely recognised that Frank Cousins' speech on nuclear weapons at the T & GWU conference will be of the greatest importance. Conjecture about it continues daily.

nuclear club at the Scarborough Conference last year Mr. Gaitskell said that if the Labour Party knew for certain that only Britain's continuing to manufacture these weapons stopped the agreement which would finally freeze the distribution of nuclear weapons to these two powers, he knew that he and his colleagues would regard it as a powerful argument.



Nobody has yet bothered to say why Labour has now become certain.

Apart from the vote of the Municipal and General Workers Union there has been no change in the nuclear weapons situation that could not have been predicted last year.

This manoeuvring will not help the Labour Party in any way; as well as unilateralists, uncommitted voters will be more suspicious of the Party. It now seems even more probable that the Labour Party will lose the next election.

The political outlook for nuclear dis-

Must we then despair of getting nuclear disarmament? We do not think so. The campaign against the Bomb must concentrate on getting a firmer base for its activities. It can do this in two ways.

1. By developing an alternative policy in a much more coherent way than it has done. This involves (as the Labour Party policy statement argues) recognising that the next step after giving up the Bomb is getting out of NATO.

2. By strengthening the commitment of those who already support the campaign. People must be prepared not to pay the Civil Defence rate, to engage in civil disobedience, to leave work that is connected with the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

If we do these two things there will be little need to worry about Parliamentary politics. If our base is firm enough, the campaign must inevitably find a method of expressing itself politically.

## "Transparently unrealistic"

—SAYS CAMPAIGN

"A LEAD and not a deal" is demanded of the Labour Party by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in its June Bulletin.

Describing the Party's new policy as "a 'formula' which will concede nothing while appearing to offer a compromise," the Campaign asserts that "the crisis in the Labour Movement will remain unchanged."

"For the formula cannot fail to be recognised as no more than a politician's ingenious device for re-stating an unacceptable position in more acceptable words."

Cynics, says the Campaign, had always foreseen this as the most probable Labour policy.

It will, the Bulletin continues, "leave our country still saddled with bomb and bases because we would only be committed to get rid of them if all the other nations could be induced to agree!"

"That is to say, Britain's defence policy in practice would be decided not

by a British Government but by Messrs. Adenauer and de Gaulle.

"These men are not interested in a British offer of conditional renunciation—though they may well fear the effects of an unconditional renunciation upon their own public opinion."

Hope of an agreement to form a Non-nuclear Club, the Campaign statement concluded, was "transparently unrealistic."

## News in brief

The Home Secretary is still "not in a position" to make a statement on the evacuation of 12,000,000 people from Britain in the event of war, he told the House of Commons on June 18.

Prime Minister Nehru inaugurated the manufacture of Indian military trucks at the Gun Carriage Factory in Jabalpur on June 21. In his speech he called the first military truck the symbol of the "determination of the people of India to enter the industrial age with confidence."

# An American plan for unarmed defence

"THE American people naturally and in many ways justly and rightly want to be secure; to protect their culture and persons against foreign aggression and foreign destruction. Feeling confidence in only military defence, they have placed their full trust in it."

Yet, because of reliance on military "means of self-defence the United States is losing its soul and drifting towards self and world catastrophe. What is the answer to this dilemma? I believe the logical answer lies in changing our means of national defence."



The alternative, says Bradford Lytle, is non-violent resistance. In this booklet he attempts a difficult job: "... to communicate probably unfamiliar ideas to the American public, and to decrease the unease which some readers may feel merely because the ideas are strange."

In this reviewer's view there are three possible processes by which a nation will adopt an unarmed defence policy:

- (1) by a decision reached and implemented through the usual procedures of the existing State structure (such as an official investigation of the proposed alternative, a Governmental decision, and carefully planned preparation and transition); or—
- (2) by a decision reached and implemented largely because of measures taken outside the existing State structure (such as adopting it as the logical alternative method of defence following a successful non-violent revolution against a Government bent—despite protests—upon pursuing a policy relying upon nuclear weapons); or—
- (3) a combination of these two processes.

Bradford Lytle's booklet deals with the first of these. This is the same approach advocated by Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall. This reviewer (and the author as well) is of the opinion that we need to

## Gene Sharp reviews

National Defense Thru Nonviolent Resistance, by Bradford Lytle. Chicago, 1958. The Author (c/o AFSC, 59 E. Madison St., Chicago 2, Ill., USA), 69 pp., 40 cents, or 2s. 9d. from Housmans Bookshop.

our capacity for intelligent, disciplined, non-violent resistance to foreign aggression."

The author bases his outline of how to achieve the transition upon the assumption that the decision to change to unarmed defence is founded upon a combination of moral principles and common sense in the nuclear age, focused upon the defence problem *per se*. The outlined programme, therefore, assumes that the new policy will be initiated within the framework of the present social, economic and political structure.



The procedure for adopting the new defence policy is discussed at some length. For the purposes of this review it is sufficient to call the reader's attention to a chart which appears in the booklet, and which indicates the vast amount of research, investigation, analysis and planning forecast by the author.

In addition to the discussion of the rôle of each of these bodies in preparing for and organising the new policy, the booklet contains considerable discussion of the importance of a positive foreign policy (emphasising social and technical assistance to other countries through the United Nations), and of the relation of non-violent resistance and decentralisation.

The possible and probable consequences of the new defence policy are also presented in a form which, if not profound, is at least understandable while being optimistic and frankly facing the *possible* (though not necessarily probable) dangers of the new policy.

In the event of occupation, the author outlines examples of the kind of difficulties the invaders would face from "a totally non-co-operative population of 180,000,000" by labour, management, the apparatus of government, education, commercial life and

## COMMENT

### German dictator

THERE seems to be no holding Dr. Adenauer. Having decided not to stand for the Presidency and to remain Chancellor, Adenauer has given interviews to five newspapers. In these interviews he has made serious criticisms of a number of people from Mr. Macmillan to Professor Erhardt.

It is not what Adenauer has said in these interviews but the tone he has adopted that is most frightening. In the interview he gave to the French paper "Paris-Match" he said that he intended to choose as his successor for the Chancellorship only a man who would take his advice. As the German newspaper "Der Mittag" remarked, everybody knows what Adenauer means by "taking his advice."

Adenauer now obviously regards himself as so indispensable that he need take little notice of what his party or anybody else in Germany thinks.

This shows how absurd the conventional definitions of democracy are. West Germany has all the apparatus of a democracy, including a freely elected Parliament. But in fact it operates very much like a dictatorship with Adenauer in almost complete control.

West Germany could make a step towards genuine democracy by getting rid of Dr. Adenauer as soon as possible.

## Surprises in Kenya

By Fenner Brockway, M.P.

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

THERE has been a surprising development in Kenya which gives some hope that the colony may develop to freedom with racial co-operation between the more progressive elements in the European, Asian and African communities.

suggests that they should seek first to get a better psychological atmosphere and that they should then concentrate on finding agreement in the political field.

If Mr. Blundell and Mr. Mboya could reach agreement regarding proposals to be made to the Constitutional Conference promised at the end of the year, this would be a great advance, but the African leaders cannot be expected to enter into such an agreement unless Mr. Blundell's group were

mented largely because of measures taken outside the existing State structure (such as adopting it as the logical alternative method of defence following a successful non-violent revolution against a Government bent—despite protests—upon pursuing a policy relying upon nuclear weapons); or—

- (3) a combination of these two processes.

Bradford Lytle's booklet deals with the first of these. This is the same approach advocated by Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall. This reviewer (and the author as well) is of the opinion that we need to work on both the constitutional and the extra-constitutional fronts simultaneously.

This booklet outlines a three-year transition programme covering the period from the signing by the American President of a "Non-violent Defence Senate-House Resolution" to the time of the disbanding of the last units of the armed forces. The intermediate steps would include planned measures for promoting "the emergence of

phasising social and technical assistance to other countries through the United Nations), and of the relation of non-violent resistance and decentralisation.

The possible and probable consequences of the new defence policy are also presented in a form which, if not profound, is at least understandable while being optimistic and frankly facing the *possible* (though not necessarily probable) dangers of the new policy.

In the event of occupation, the author outlines examples of the kind of difficulties the invaders would face from "a totally non-co-operative population of 180,000,000" by labour, management, the apparatus of government, education, commercial life and the media of communication.



In this section he clearly envisages a much more total resistance than that suggested by Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall, extending it, for example, to the economic life of the whole country.

Pacifists would do well to profit from this opinion of the author:

"I deeply believe it is the pacifists' duty to recognise the depth of human evil fully as much as does the non-pacifist. Only in this complete realism do I believe the pacifist can bring his message to other men and have it received with respect."

It is in the face even of the perils of modern totalitarianism that Bradford Lytle believes the way of non-violence can be adequate.

Any attempt to deal with such vast problems relatively briefly almost inevitably will have weaknesses; this booklet is not an exception. The most serious one is the discussion of the "Theory of Non-violent Resistance."

One must not be too critical, for the author specifically disclaims that the interpretation presented is authoritative. However, the four and a half pages devoted to this section present more of a theology or personal philosophy than a theory of non-violent resistance.

This is not necessarily to disagree with what the author writes; it is to say that to appeal on the basis of the need for "truthful action," "the law of suffering" and "supernatural power"—religious or philosophical reasons—is to argue on grounds which have little appeal to the very "practical" people he is trying to convince.

Therefore, for these people one of the

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at Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, S.W.1  
on Friday, June 12, at 7.30 p.m.

By Fenner Brockway, M.P.  
Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

THERE has been a surprising deve-

lopment in Kenya which gives some hope that the colony may develop to freedom with racial co-operation between the more progressive elements in the European, Asian and African communities.

Under the new Constitution a Council of State was set up to act as a "watch dog" on discriminatory legislature. This Council was regarded with some suspicion by the Africans and their friends in this country, but its first decision is encouraging.

It has recommended a reconsideration of a Bill to provide for the election of members of the legislature. It points out that under the Bill, Africans are disqualified on the grounds of periods of residence, income, education and property, and these disqualifications do not apply to Europeans and Asians. The Council therefore proposes that either these disqualifications should be extended to Europeans and Asians, or that they should be dropped in the case of the Africans. If this latter suggestion were adopted it would mean that the African Members of Legislature would be elected by adult suffrage.

## Mboya-Blundell meeting

The second suggestion would certainly be preferable. It would mean that the African members would immediately be elected by all the African people and would prepare the way for a common franchise where adult suffrage would apply to all the three races. It is too much to say that this proposal will be accepted by the Kenya Government and the British Colonial Office, but the fact that it has been made will help those both in Kenya and in Britain who are working for racial equality.

The second development is a proposal made by Mr. Julius Nyerere, President of the Tanganyikan African National Union, that consultations should take place between Mr. Tom Mboya, the African leader, and Mr. Michael Blundell, the leader of the moderate Europeans, with a view to finding a common ground. Mr. Nyerere

# Surprises in Kenya

suggests that they should seek first to get a better psychological atmosphere and that they should then concentrate on finding agreement in the political field.

If Mr. Blundell and Mr. Mboya could reach agreement regarding proposals to be made to the Constitutional Conference promised at the end of the year, this would be a great advance, but the African leaders cannot be expected to enter into such an agreement unless Mr. Blundell's group were prepared to accept a basis of racial equality.

One must not expect too much from these better signs in Kenya, but it would have a tremendous effect on neighbouring Central Africa if a common programme between the progressive Europeans and Africans were established.

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# AGAINST MASS ANNIHILATION

## A programme for health, not germ warfare

—FoR APPEAL TO EISENHOWER

**FORT DETRICK** at Frederick, Maryland, where the US Government is engaged on large-scale production of germs and toxins for biological warfare, is to be the centre of protest actions this week.

The actions which are being organised between July 1-5 by the Middle Atlantic region of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation will consist of a dawn-to-dusk vigil at the entrance to Fort Detrick, where participants will stand in silent appeal, talks with military and community officials, leaders and citizens, door-to-door distribution of literature and public meetings. Other activity may be undertaken after the vigil.

### The Purpose

The object of the actions will be to appeal to Fort Detrick's 2,000 workers, inhabitants of Frederick and others to stop preparation for germ warfare.

In a letter to President Eisenhower the FoR have asked him to give a lead by announcing to the world that the US is withdrawing from biological warfare preparations, is to destroy stockpiles of germs and toxins, will sponsor through the UN an international agreement against bio-

logical weapons and a constructive programme of health, food production and technical assistance.

Pointing out the advantages of biological warfare to a Congressional Committee in March last year, Major-General William M. Creasy said:

"By and large both chemical and biological warfare do the things that they do without destroying buildings, churches, manufacturing sites, things which might be of post-war value.

"They can be tailored in both cases with limits in each case, of course, so as to cause irritation, debilitation, make people sick for short or long periods of time, or you can select in the biological warfare field diseases which kill a great many people and with some 90 to 95 per cent who would die, other diseases around 40 per cent, and even in debilitating diseases, you probably would have 3 to 4 per cent of fatalities among all cases you have."

Despite the large sums spent on germ warfare preparations during the last few years, officers of the Army Chemical Corps have been campaigning to persuade Congress that far more is needed.

Recently these officers launched propaganda aimed to gain public approval of this form of weapon for retaliatory and offensive war.

## Disarmament in the villages

From D. MARTIN SMITH

**I**N the first two weeks of its activities the Disarmament in the Villages Campaign (manned by members of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Pacifist Youth Action Group) has visited 1,200 families, distributed thousands of leaflets showing the bases in Yorkshire for rockets and others stimulating interest in nuclear disarmament.

petition to Parliament against bases in Yorkshire.

Interest in the campaign was so roused in Howden—especially among the young people, servicemen stationed nearby and a few workers on the rocket site—that the stay in Howden was extended from two days to a week. The public meeting in the town was chaired by the vicar, and two other clergymen from the town were present.

## The shape of things to come

**T**HE new Labour Party declaration on the Bomb; the crucial conference of the Transport and General Workers Union at the beginning of July; the campaigns against the rocket sites in Yorkshire, Northampton, Suffolk and Omaha: these are just a few of the things that are or will be happening. If Peace News is to continue to give you adequate reports and comments on these and other important developments it needs all the help you can give it.

ALAN LOVELL.

Contributions since June 19: £40 6s.

Total since Feb. 1, 1959: £492 19s. 6d.  
Still needed: £2,007.

Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged for Building Fund: Brighton £10. Runcorn £1, Friends 2s. 6d.

Please makes cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

## Ten risk arrest at rocket base

**AIR MINISTRY** police carried ten demonstrators from Great Dalby rocket base site in Leicestershire on June 18. The demonstration, briefly reported in last week's PN, was purely non-violent.

When the demonstrators, led by Pat Arrowsmith of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, arrived at the base they were warned by Air Ministry police that they might be arrested if they trespassed on to the site.

The campaigners decided to proceed, however, and, leaving five pickets at the gate to the base, the ten walked on to the site where they began to pitch tents before they were removed. The tents were then erected on Air Ministry property outside the base.

Taking part in the demonstration were members of Northampton, Kettering, Bedford, Leicester and Nottingham Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament groups, their object being to make a symbolic gesture against the use of land for missiles, to disperse much on the site to force local

A good deal of local interest has been stimulated by open-air meetings during the campaign against the Suffolk bases where activities are centred around Ipswich.

There have also been several indoor meetings, and an extensive programme of these, including several with local trade unions and Labour Parties, is arranged for this month and a meeting with Bury Trades Council on July 21.

Two rallies are being organised for July 24, one at 6 p.m. at Rattlesden (near Stowmarket), the other at Sutton Heath (near Woodbridge), and local CND groups are also arranging vigils outside the bases.

The Leeds Peace Pledge Union group is appealing for supporters for a July-August tour around the Yorkshire bases meeting and talking with the villagers. Those interested should contact Frank Heny, c/o Poste Restante, GPO, Selby, Yorks.

The Direct Action Committee which is undertaking the Northants and Suffolk campaigns is very short of finances. Those who can help should send contributions to the Committee at 344 Seven Sisters Rd.,

# Disarmament in the villages

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We have also picketed Brighton Rocket Base, held open-air meetings and used a mobile exhibition in market places, beside holding public meetings that have provoked great controversy in the towns and villages of East Yorkshire. As well over 200 signatures have been collected for a

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petition to Parliament against bases in Yorkshire.

Interest in the campaign was so roused in Howden—especially among the young people, servicemen stationed nearby and a few workers on the rocket site—that the stay in Howden was extended from two days to a week. The public meeting in the town was chaired by the vicar, and two other clergymen from the town were present.

By its third week the Campaign will have visited two more villages, with a combined population of around 1,000.

By July 4-5—the week-end of the all-night vigil at Brighton Rocket Base and the march from the Base to Selby—the Campaign will have reached on a personal basis 2,500 villagers. No one in the area will not have heard of the Campaign. As an anti-campaigner said after a recent public meeting: "There has never been anything like this since Victory Night."

To carry on what must be the most important peace activity in Britain today in an area completely virgin we must have more helpers, more funds, and, most important, a towing vehicle immediately to replace the present one in use as this must be returned to its owner soon. The campaigners are living in two caravans, and could use another if it were possible to borrow one. The Disarmament in the Villages Campaign will be, it hopes, working on into August.

tee Against Nuclear War, arrived at the base they were warned by Air Ministry police that they might be arrested if they trespassed on to the site.

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Taking part in the demonstration were members of Northampton, Kettering, Bedford, Leicester and Nottingham Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament groups, their object being to make a symbolic gesture against the use of land for missiles, to discourage work on the site, to rouse local opinion against the base, and to focus attention on a site where construction has only recently begun.

Relations with the police were reported as friendly, while of the local inhabitants, some have been hostile, others sympathetic.

An intensive campaign has been under way since early June against the Northampton-Leicestershire rocket bases.

Members of the Direct Action Committee and CND have held meetings with building workers on the sites. Workers were sympathetic on the North Luffenham site which was picketed over the week-end of June 13-14.

Several workers who came to apply for jobs on the Harrington rocket site were dissuaded by pickets.

The Polebrook base has been picketed by members of the Peterborough CND, who have also undertaken extensive leafleting and canvassing of the area.

## Trade Union Support

Trade unions have shown a good deal of interest in the campaign and a number of branch meetings are being arranged. The Leicester branch of the Amalgamated Engineering Union has passed a resolution of protest against the construction of missile bases in Leicestershire and Rutland, and the same resolution was passed by Leicester Trades Council.

The possibilities of alternative employment for building workers on the sites is reasonably good, although the current shortage of bricks might cause some difficulties, campaigners have been told.

Considerable local interest has been roused by the many open-air meetings, poster parades and leaflet distributions. Local press coverage has been extensive; some of the national dailies have also carried reports.

Council on July 21.

Two rallies are being organised for July 24, one at 6 p.m. at Rattlesden (near Stowmarket), the other at Sutton Heath (near Woodbridge), and local CND groups are also arranging vigils outside the bases.

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The Direct Action Committee which is undertaking the Northants and Suffolk campaigns is very short of finances. Those who can help should send contributions to the Committee at 344 Seven Sisters Rd., London, N.4.

For details of the future campaign activities against the Northants bases see "Diary."

## CLASSIFIED

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**Meeting:** "The Meaning of the Quaker Peace Testimony." Speaker: Richard K. Ullmann. Sunday, July 5, 6.30 p.m., Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

**PERSONAL:** FROEBEL STUDENT, aged 19, with household management diploma, seeks job guest house or private family. Free July and August. Esther Simms, 27 Clonskea Road, Dublin.

**Microbus trip to Tyrol,** October 4-18, 65 guineas. Details: Reculver Lodge, Beltinge, Herne Bay, Kent. Herne Bay 750.

**LITERATURE:** Oswall Blakeson's new novel: "Hop Thief." (Anthony Blond, 10s. 6d.)

## DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive first post Monday.  
2. Include Date, TOWN, TIME, PLACE (hall, street), nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

**Saturday, July 4: IPSWICH.** 1.30-9 p.m. Christchurch Pk. (gates). Leaflet distribution. CND. **Saturday, 4, to Sunday, 5: BREIGHTON & SELBY.** July 4, 8 a.m.—July 5, noon. Vigil at Brighton base Bubwith. March leaves noon at Brighton, mass mtg. 4.30 p.m. Selby mkt. place. Sir Herbert Read, A. J. P. Taylor, Mervyn Jones, Dr. John Rex. CND. **Sunday, 5: BRADFORD.** 7.45 p.m. Mechanics Inst. Mass Mtg. against Bombs & Bases. A. J. P. Taylor, M. Jones. CND. **Monday, 6: LONDON, S.W.1.** 10.30 a.m. & 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge Ho. Ebury Bridge Rd. CO's Appellate Tribunal. **Tuesday, 7: LONDON, N.2.** 8 p.m.; 15 Lynmouth Rd. "Direct Action in Peace Time." Christopher Farley. PPU. Also **BRISTOL.** 6.20 p.m. Central Hall, Old Mkt. Sq. March with Dr. Soper to Colston Hall, 7.30 p.m. Speeches and questions. FoR & CND. **Wednesday, 8: RUGBY.** 7.30 p.m. 57 Clifton Rd. "How I Became a Pacifist." D. Williams. PPU. **Friday, 10: TUNBRIDGE WELLS.** 7.15 p.m. Harrington's Cafe, Five Ways. Mtg. April Carter. PPU. **Saturday, 11: LONDON, E.4.** 2 p.m. Ridgeway Pk. CND display counter at "Chingford Day." **Saturday, 11, to Sunday, 12: GUILDFORD.** Disc. W/E Treelops Hol. Camp. "After Aldermaston." Don Arnott, Ted Bedford, John Horner, Benn Levy, Michael Scott, K. Ziliacus, MP. London Region CND.



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## A VISION OF PEACE

By Sybil Morrison

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# NOTTING HILL: WHAT YOU CAN DO

THE Universities and Left Review Club has made practical suggestions for people wanting to help ease the racial tension in the Notting Hill area of London.

Since the riots last year and the murder of Kelso Cochrane in May, the Notting Hill district has not occupied the newspaper headlines. "The situation," the Club points out, "has not changed, but it is reasonable to suppose that the 'newshounds' will not find anything 'newsworthy' until more 'sensational events' occur."

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A study group has been set up to consider the whole situation in Notting Hill, and will need much information—for example, about sanitation and population.

Volunteers for this should contact George Clark, care of the Club.

Anyone with special abilities—such as teachers, technicians, etc.—is asked to accommodate small groups of six to twelve people from Commonwealth countries for weekly, fortnightly or monthly informal discussion groups. George Clark is also organising a programme for this for the coming winter.

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The Anti-Rocket Campaign has already had some success. Please help us to make a success of our final demonstration.—

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Long ago, before Labour was first in Office, the Labour movement could be said to be pacifist in the sense that its members had a conscientious objection to war, but even then much would depend on the political background of the war; many well-known figures in the Party to-day were conscientious objectors in the First World War, but not in the second.

Ramsay Macdonald was accused of being a pacifist because he objected to the First World War, and later, in his first administration, wanted to reduce armaments; but the truth is that he did not, any more than the present official Labour Party, hold any brief for the renunciation of war.

The Labour Party, like any other political Party in Britain and in other countries, is caught in the snare of reliance upon militarism; there has not been since George Lansbury any man with vision enough not only to cry NO, but to give the lead that the whole world might well hail as the only hope for the human race.

To go unarmed to the conference table would so profoundly affect the attitudes and arguments of the other nations that it would, undoubtedly, herald in a new and exciting era.

The need to-day is for a new vision, and people with the courage and confidence to carry it out. It is not a vision of reduced armaments, or of less or more bombs or missiles; it is a vision of the great moral force of an undefended people bringing peace to the world.

**Eric Fenner** died on June 19. A soldier in World War II, he became a pacifist and stood for Parliament in 1955 as an independent anti-H-bomb candidate. Thereafter he devoted his energies to the promotion of the Fellowship Party and the ILP.

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## The way lies in co-operation

By the Rev. Dr. Eric Baker, MA

President-Elect of the Methodist Peace Conference and its Secretary since 1951.

I HAVE been asked to deal briefly with the recent publication of the British Council of Churches on

### "Christians and Atomic War."

This production is the fruit of the corporate thinking of a talented group, drawn from the various Churches, and is offered as a contribution to Christian thinking on the disarmament problem and defence policy in the nuclear age. It recognises that "it is a valid Christian position to suggest that full Christian obedience involves the refusal to participate in war . . . Christian pacifism can be defended in terms of an individual act of obedience and faith." In point of fact, the group concerned did include Christian pacifists among their number.

The document then proceeds, however, to a statement with which all Christian pacifists would disagree, namely, that "it has not, in the view of the group, found clear articulation in terms of a political policy which can be responsibly adopted by a government." It is here that there is a clear distinction between the two points of view.

I write this as a loyal member of the British Council of Churches. The point I would make is that we cannot really complain that this document does not do what it does not pretend to do. As Christian pacifists, we need to recognise that we represent a minority in all the Churches except the Society of Friends, but that this

profound difference of view in no way absolves us from the responsibility of co-operating as far as we are able with all ecumenical groups, especially when that co-operation is welcomed as it most certainly is by the non-pacifist element in the British Council of Churches.

The document reflects the divided state of mind which exists in all the Churches, and it is that fact, rather than this document, that we should deplore. It is indeed a recurring perplexity to those of us who are pacifists that so often in these days secular bodies appear to realise more clearly than we do the complete incompatibility of Christianity and war.

It should also be stressed that the British Council of Churches, while receiving this document, did not accept it or adopt it, but commended it to the Churches for careful study of the issues raised without necessarily endorsing the opinions expressed. While Christian pacifists have an inescapable obligation in the present circumstances to make their position clear and to stand by it, there is also an equal obligation to co-operate in every possible way in positive peace-making with those who do not accept the pacifist position.

There are many encouraging signs in all the Churches that the working-out of the non-pacifist position to its logical and appalling end is leading many of our fellow churchmen to re-examine their position, and we may hope and pray that, as a result of this, the Churches in the coming days will be able to challenge the conscience of the community on this matter with a unanimity that has hitherto unfortunately been lacking.

## BRIEFLY

**The British contribution** to the UN International Children's Emergency Fund is smaller than those of Costa Rica, Brunei and other countries. It is only three per cent of the total sum contributed by all nations to the Fund.

**The British arms budget** this year costs about eleven shillings per person per week, the Minister of Defence told Konni Ziliacus, MP, on June 23.

**100,000 Algerian refugees** are in Tunisia and 80,000 in Morocco, the UN High Commissioner estimates.

**Conscription in Indonesia** started on June 13 when about 870 students became the first to undergo compulsory military training.

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## Last week's policy statement

UNILATERAL  
ACTION REJECTED

**T**HE joint Labour Party-Trades Union Congress statement on armaments adopted last week ended a complex series of policy meetings which dominated the news in Britain throughout mid-June.

The most important aspects of the plan, which became official policy on June 24, were the attempt to form a non-nuclear club of all countries except Russia and the United States, and the emphatic repudiation once against of unilateral nuclear disarmament.

The policy is enunciated in a document entitled "Disarmament and Nuclear War: The Next Step."

Arguing the case against unilateral nuclear disarmament, the joint declaration of policy says that "there is not the slightest evidence" that such a policy would influence other Governments.

## OUT OF NATO

"Moreover," the declaration continues, "if the abandonment of the manufacture of nuclear weapons by Britain were accompanied, as is often urged, by a ban on all foreign nuclear bases in Britain, this would be tantamount to a British withdrawal from NATO. Nothing could be more dangerous..."

"In present conditions we regard it as essential that the NATO alliance should be maintained and that we should remain local and active members of it, providing our full contribution to its forces and accepting also our share of the risks involved."

**A**t his Press conference, Mr. Gaitskell, according to the *News Chronicle*, said that he expected Labour would always have a pacifist minority.

If the proposed non-nuclear club were formed with other nations, the policy document says that a Labour Government would not only cease to manufacture nuclear weapons but would also "deprive herself of their possession." Asked if that could mean giving the bombs to the United States, Mr. Gaitskell said that it certainly could.



Frank Cousins.

nations could achieve a nuclear weapons programme within the next five years."

On nuclear tests the policy document states that if other countries were to break the present truce "a Labour Government would continue to observe it and would immediately initiate fresh negotiations for an international ban on all tests."

**A**sks if there were any circumstances in which a Labour Government would resume tests, Mr. Gaitskell declined to give a straight answer.

He said the question involved a double hypothesis—that another Government broke the truce and that the international conference called by the Labour Government failed. It was, said the Party leader, "a bit too complicated" to continue.

**M**R. GAITSKELL AND MR. BEVAN ARE SATISFIED WITH THE WAY THEIR NEW POLICY ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS HAS BEEN RECEIVED BY THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS. THEY OBVIOUSLY FEEL THAT THEY WILL NOT BE DEFEATED AT THE NEXT LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE.

Nobody else can be anything but nauseated by the Labour Party leadership's change. It is not so much that the actual statement is unsatisfactory;

honestly the party's basic commitment to the H-bomb and to multilateral agreed disarmament. It is the sudden conversion that must make people even more cynical about the Labour Party.

The political correspondent of *The Observer* documented last Sunday the speed of the change. There can be few examples of political parties making a change on such an important issue in a few weeks.

But there is another reason for cynicism. When he referred to the idea of a "non-nuclear club" at the Scarborough Conference last year Mr. Gaitskell said that if the Labour Party knew for certain that only Britain's continuing to manufacture these weapons stopped the agreement which would finally freeze the distribution of nuclear weapons to these two powers, he knew that he and his colleagues would regard it as a powerful argument.



Nobody has yet bothered to say why Labour has now become certain.

Apart from the vote of the Municipal and General Workers Union there has been no change in the nuclear weapons situation that could not have been predicted last year.

This manoeuvring will not help the Labour Party in any way; as well as unilateralists, uncommitted voters will be more suspicious of the Party. It now seems even more probable that the Labour Party will lose the next election.

The political outlook for nuclear dis-

armament is therefore very unpromising. Any hope of a British Government that would renounce nuclear weapons must depend on what happens in the Labour Party. The Labour Party obviously could not adopt such a policy while Gaitskell and Bevan and the people who have supported them are in control. But to get rid of them would so divide the Party that it would have very little chance of being elected to power. And if the split came after a Labour Government had been elected, it is unlikely that there would be a majority of nuclear disarmers in Parliament.



Must we then despair of getting nuclear disarmament? We do not think so. The campaign against the Bomb must concentrate on getting a firmer base for its activities. It can do this in two ways.

1. By developing an alternative policy in a much more coherent way than it has done. This involves (as the Labour Party policy statement argues) recognising that the next step after giving up the Bomb is getting out of NATO.

2. By strengthening the commitment of those who already support the campaign. People must be prepared not to pay the Civil Defence rate, to engage in civil disobedience, to leave work that is connected with the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

If we do these two things there will be little need to worry about Parliamentary politics. If our base is firm enough, the campaign must inevitably find a method of expressing itself politically.

## “Transparently unrealistic”

—SAYS CAMPAIGN

**A LEAD and not a deal** is demanded of the Labour Party by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in its June Bulletin.

by a British Government but by Messrs. Adenauer and de Gaulle.

These men are not interested in a British offer of conditional renunciation—though they may well fear the effects of an

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